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ABSTRACT

This report sets out the results of a survey of what people from majority and minority groups think about race relation matters in Britain. The main conclusions are: (1) The concentration of minorities in urban areas has had the result that half of the population still see the area where they live as "all white" and 9 out of 10 see it as "all white" or "mainly white." A very similar pattern applied to place of work. (2) White people's attitudes appeared to separate "immigration" from "race relations." They were generally hostile to immigration: but accepted, albeit reluctantly, that Britain is a multiracial country and showed willingness to learn to live with it. (3) Young white people were markedly more tolerant and optimistic than older people. (4) There was substantial agreement between majority and minority group members on a very wide range of issues, including the assessment of the importance of discrimination and disadvantage in determining the situation of minorities in Britain. (5) There was a favorable reaction to suggestions for overcoming barriers created by language and cultural differences and for stronger anti-discrimination legislation. (Author/BV)

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Some of My Best Friends...

A Report on Race Relations Attitudes

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The Community Relations Commission was established under the Race Relations Act 1968. Under the Act it has the broad duties:

- (a) to encourage the establishment of, and assist others to take steps to secure the establishment of, harmonious community relations and to co-ordinate on a national basis the measures adopted for that purpose by others; and
- (b) to advise the Secretary of State for the Home Department on any matter referred to the Commission by him and to make recommendations to him, on any matter which the Commission considers should be brought to his attention.

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Preface

The results of the survey reported in this booklet should be of particular interest as the new Race Relations Bill makes its way through Parliament. It is concerned with the attitudes of the majority and the minorities towards race relations matters. (It is not about actual living conditions). The general run of the findings are much more optimistic than the prognostications of the more gloom-laden prophets who claim great insight into public opinion. In particular, it is shown that public opinion is receptive to measures to improve race relations and there is a majority in favour of strengthened legislation. We hope that people who read this booklet will be encouraged to do what needs doing and less fearful of the backlash.

However, the results do not suggest that there is any room for complacency. Indeed, the difficulties now being experienced by the first young Asians and West Indians to have been born and educated in Britain, must sound a warning that action is needed urgently. What this report does is to demonstrate that the public accepts the need for action and is prepared to support the necessary measures.

Many people have helped in the compilation of this report. We would particularly like to thank Mrs. Joan Pegram, formerly of National Opinion Polls. The officer responsible for the project in the CRC was David Kohler.

A. N. LITTLE

Director of Reference & Technical Services

February, 1976.

Summary

This report sets out the results of a survey of the majority and minorities' opinions about race relations matters in Britain.

The main conclusions are:

1. The concentration of minorities in urban areas has had the result that half of the population still see the area where they live as "all white" and 9 out of 10 see it as "all white" or "mainly white". A very similar pattern applied to place of work.
2. White people's attitudes appeared to separate "immigration" from "race relations". They were generally hostile to immigration; but accepted, albeit reluctantly, that Britain is a multi-racial country and showed willingness to learn to live with it.
3. Young white people were markedly more tolerant and optimistic than older people.
4. There was substantial agreement between white and "coloured" people on a very wide range of issues, including the assessment of the importance of discrimination and disadvantage in determining the minorities' situation in Britain.
5. There was a favourable reaction to suggestions for overcoming barriers created by language and cultural differences and for stronger anti-discrimination legislation.

Introduction

1. Objectives

The survey which is the subject of this report was undertaken as an attempt to discover what ordinary people both from the majority and the minority communities think about race relations in Britain. It was not an attempt to assess the level of racial prejudice or discrimination, but a more general attempt to assess ordinary people's opinions on matters concerned with race.

There were three main reasons for attempting such an assessment:

1. The Commission's duty to promote the establishment of "harmonious community relations". Understanding what the majority and minority population think about each other, should assist the Commission in carrying out its duty. Further, by future monitoring such opinions, as well by making comparisons with previous surveys, it will be possible to assess what progress is being made.
2. Politicians tend to regard race relations as a very sensitive subject and partly because the more strident opinions are heard the loudest, politicians may not hear what the less extreme sections of the population are thinking and in consequence they may be overcautious in taking positive action through unsubstantiated fears that the strident voices are representative of the whole population. We hoped to be able to show that the extremists do not speak for the silent majority, and that the bulk of the population would be more willing to support positive Government action than some politicians might suppose.
3. It is acknowledged on all sides that the media have an important role in forming opinions concerning race relations. We hope that this study will inform practitioners in the media of what the general public's opinions are so that it will be possible for them to frame programmes to correct erroneous impressions and, in particular, not to give further support to unsubstantiated myths.

This attempt to understand opinions is only one part of the Commission's monitoring of race relations in Britain. The Commission is also attempting to follow the progress of minority groups in achieving physical living conditions as good as the majority population's. This is a very wide subject which cannot be gone into here, although it is of great importance to the formation and understanding of opinions.

2. Conduct of the Survey

The main part of the survey consisted of detailed interviews with approximately 1,000 white and 1,000 "coloured" people. (We are conscious that not every one will approve of the term "coloured". We apologise to them, but can find no better alternative. It does at least have the advantage of being the term in widest usage). Exactly the same questionnaire was administered to both groups.

The samples were selected to be as representative as possible. Both were confined to England. The white sample presented few problems being a straight forward selection from voting lists. In fact it contained a small number of West Indian and Asian voters and is more properly described as a national sample.

The "coloured" sample was much more difficult to construct. The main problem is that there is no sampling frame that would produce even a 90% accurate sample. It is not possible to identify all the names of "coloured" people from electoral registers, and many of them are not registered to vote anyway. The closest to a sampling frame we could discover was the information for enumeration districts from the 1971 Census. The actual procedure involved was to select a sample of those Parliamentary constituencies which have at least 1.9% of its residents born in the New Commonwealth. Within these constituencies an enumeration district was randomly selected, and interviewers were instructed to interview a quota of "coloured" people within that enumeration district.

This procedure clearly has the disadvantage of omitting the proportion of the "coloured" population who are more thinly scattered. However, the costs of searching out such people were prohibitive and we are confident that we have recruited the best sample available in the rather difficult circumstances. It is certainly a better sample of "coloured" people than has ever been interviewed before on such matters.

The actual detailed administration of the research was carried out by National Opinion Polls Ltd, both because the Commission does not have the expertise or the resources to undertake such interviewing itself, and because of the greater credibility that will be attached to research findings collected by an independent organisation.

The questionnaire was devised jointly by N.O.P. and the CRC after extensive exploratory interviews. The plan behind the questionnaire was simply to find out whatever there was to find out about people's beliefs and opinions concerning race relations.

One aspect of the study which was shown to be important by the preliminary work was the difference in attitude between young people and older people. In order to provide a more valid comparison between the groups the number

of young people in the national white sample was augmented by 101 interviews with young people in urban areas to give a total of 285 young people interviewed. It was not necessary to augment the "coloured" sample in this way.

The research took place in two main stages during 1974 and 1975:

1. Exploratory, unstructured interviews with white and coloured people, in groups and individually
2. the main stage consisting of a formalised interview with approximately 1,000 white people and 1,000 "coloured" people

In the report all quotations are taken from the exploratory stage, and all percentages are taken from the main quantitative stage.

The tabulations of the data and N.O.P's reports are available for consultation in the Commission's library.

Findings

1. Description of the two samples

1.1 The intended difference between the two samples was their ethnicity/race. That this difference did occur is shown in the following table:

Table 1 Ethnicity/Race

<i>Total interviewed (= 100%)</i>	<i>"National White Sample" 1050</i>	<i>"Coloured Sample" 966</i>
English/Scottish/Welsh	93%	—
Irish	2%	—
Other Whites	1%	—
West Indian	1%	28%
Asian	2%	60%
African	—	6%
Chinese	—	1%
Other "Coloured"	—	5%

The small number of West Indians and Asians has been allowed to remain in the national sample for the sake of completeness, although it is not strictly a "white" sample. There is no data against which such ethnic data can be checked, but related data concerning birthplace can be compared with data from the 1971 Census.

Table 2 Birthplace

<i>Total interviewed (= 100%)</i>	<i>"National White Sample" 1050</i>	<i>"Coloured Sample" 966</i>
Born in U.K.	93%	2%
Eire	1%	—
India	1%	29%
Pakistan	1%	19%
Bangladesh	—	3%
West Indies	1%	27%
Africa	1%	14%
Elsewhere	2%	6%

The correspondence between the birthplace of the national white sample and the total population in the Census is very close indeed. The poorer correspondence for the "coloured" sample and the Census figures for those born in

Table 3 Birthplace—1971 Census

	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Born in New Commonwealth</i>
Born in U.K.	94%	—
Eire	1%	—
India	1%	27%
Pakistan/Bangladesh	—	12%
West Indies	1%	27%
Africa	1%	14%
Elsewhere	2%	20%

the New Commonwealth is due to the continued immigration especially from the Indian sub-continent in the years between the 1971 Census and the survey in 1975, and to confusion in the Census returns involving the description of Pakistan as India before partition in 1947. Those born in Africa include people of Asian ethnic origin.

It is noteworthy that only 2% of the "coloured" sample were born in Britain, reflecting the comparatively short time the "coloured" population has been in Britain. This would certainly not be true of the whole "coloured" population including those under 16 who were not in the sample. The implication is that the adult "coloured" population is still described as immigrants with reasonable accuracy, but the same is not true of the whole "coloured" population of whom some 40% were born in Britain.

1.2 The samples show that there are some differences between the white population and the "coloured" population. The adult "coloured" population, most of whom are immigrants, contains more men than the white population. More "coloured" people were in full time employment—both men and women.

Table 4 Sex and Employment

	<i>National White Sample</i>		<i>"Coloured" Sample</i>	
<i>Total interviewed (= 100%)</i>	<i>1050</i>		<i>966</i>	
Men—Total	48%	(100%)	58%	(100%)
—employed full time	36%	(75%)	46%	(79%)
—employed part time	1%	(3%)	1%	(1%)
—retired	8%	(16%)	1%	(1%)
—students	1%	(3%)	5%	(9%)
—unemployed	1%	(3%)	4%	(8%)
Women—Total	52%	(100%)	42%	(100%)
—employed full time	12%	(23%)	12%	(28%)
—employed part time	12%	(22%)	7%	(16%)
—retired	4%	(7%)	—	(1%)
—housewives	21%	(41%)	18%	(43%)
—students	1%	(2%)	2%	(4%)
—unemployed	2%	(3%)	3%	(8%)

This greater proportion of "coloured" people in full time employment has happened mainly because the "coloured" population has arrived in Britain mostly during the last twenty years. Since most people who migrate from one country to another are fairly young, the "coloured" population has not yet had time to even out over the older age groups to correspond with the white population. In fact the "coloured" population is very much younger, 82% of "coloured" adults being under 45 and 53% under 35. This age difference is reflected in other domestic factors, such as possession of children and total household size, both of which are higher for the younger "coloured" population.

Table 5 Age, Children and Household Size

<i>Total interviewed (= 100%)</i>		<i>National White Sample 1050</i>	<i>"Coloured" Sample 966</i>
Age:	16-24	18%	21%
	25-34	18%	32%
	35-44	14%	29%
	45-54	17%	12%
	55-64	15%	4%
	65+	18%	2%
With children aged	0-4	16%	44%
	5-10	21%	50%
	11-15	20%	37%
Total number in household:	1	8%	6%
	2	30%	6%
	3	22%	10%
	4	21%	17%
	5	11%	17%
	6	3%	16%
	7+	4%	29%

The larger "coloured" families would also arise from the greater proportion of "extended" families living together. Almost half the "coloured" sample have one or more adult males in addition to the head of the household and over a third have one or more adult females in addition to the head of the household or his wife. In both cases the comparable figure for the white sample was 29%.

Table 6 Household Composition

<i>Total interviewed (= 100%)</i>	<i>National White Sample 1050</i>	<i>"Coloured" Sample 966</i>
Male head of household	87%	93%
Female head of household	12%	6%
Wife of head of household	76%	74%
Other male adults	29%	45%
Other female adults	29%	38%

Other consequences of the recency of immigration are greater concentration of the "coloured" sample in manual socio-economic groups and in particular urban areas, and an exclusion from public housing. Almost half of the "coloured" sample was classified in the lowest social class grouping (DE), compared with a quarter of the white sample. Almost half of the "coloured" sample lived in the GLC area and a further quarter in the Midlands, compared with a wider dispersal of the white sample in the North and South. Two out of three "coloured" households own or are buying their accommodation which is slightly above the national average, and less than one in ten rent accommodation from the council compared with one in four of the white sample.

Table 7 Social Class, Region and Household Tenure

<i>Total interviewed (= 100%)</i>	<i>National White Sample 1050</i>	<i>"Coloured" Sample 966</i>
Social class:		
Professional and managerial (AB)	14%	5%
Other non-manual (C ₁)	22%	15%
Skilled manual (C ₂)	40%	34%
Other (DE)	24%	46%
Region: North	33%	16%
Midlands	22%	26%
GLC	16%	47%
South	29%	11%
Household Tenure: Owner occupier	60%	67%
Privately rented	11%	18%
Council rented	27%	8%
Living with relatives	2%	7%

2. Importance of Race Matters

We attempted to assess how much importance the two samples attached to race relations matters. Part of this attempt consisted of asking respondents what problems they saw affecting their local area. It was clear that race caused very little concern compared with other problems. In fact only 1% of each of the samples mentioned things, like "Too many foreigners", which could be connected with race. Housing and traffic were of major concern to both samples, but 38% of the "coloured" sample said there were "no problems" compared with 21% of the white sample. This "no problem" attitude was twice as common amongst the Asians (48%) as amongst the West Indians and Africans (23%). It was also, more common in the North (53%), and Midlands (50%) than in Greater London (28%) and the South (35%). The biggest problem facing both Asians (12%) and West Indians and Africans (26%) was poor housing. However, the stronger point to emerge from the results, was the similarity of response between the white and "coloured" samples.

To press further this assessment of the importance of race, we gave people a list of problems and asked if there were any other problems affecting the community. The list included "colour/racial prejudice", but again it was well down the list being acknowledged by only 14% of the white sample and 13% of the coloured sample. Housing and traffic were again seen as major problems by both samples. As another part of this assessment, respondents were asked to choose the most "important problems" from the same list. For the white sample they were traffic, violence and vandalism, and house prices, whilst house prices and overcrowding were of most concern amongst the "coloured" sample.

Young white people were particularly concerned about the lack of entertainment and facilities for young people, one in five mentioning both points spontaneously. Young "coloured" people did not mention these points, but they did think colour/racial prejudice was more of a problem than their elders; young white people thought it less of a problem than older white people. Generally, West Indians and Africans were more dissatisfied than Asians, and there were more problems in London and the South than elsewhere.

Again, despite some differences, the overall impression was of similarity of opinions between white and "coloured" people.

Finally, in this section, respondents were asked to give their opinion of different aspects of their local area, including housing, education, health provision and "relations between different races or nationalities in this area". 54% of the white sample said race relations were "good" or "very good", against only 3% who said they were "bad" (and less than 0.5% saying "very bad"). The "coloured" sample broadly agreed, 67% saying "good" or "very good" against 7% "bad" and 1% "very bad". Amongst both samples region was an important influence on respondents' optimism, things being thought worse in London than elsewhere.

Table.8 Rating of Relations between Different Races and Nationalities in Area

	<i>Total</i>	<i>National White Sample</i>			<i>GLC</i>
		<i>North</i>	<i>Midlands</i>	<i>South</i>	
<i>No interviewed (= 100%)</i>	<i>1050</i>	<i>348</i>	<i>229</i>	<i>300</i>	<i>172</i>
Very good	8%	11%	5%	8%	3%
Good	46%	45%	49%	42%	51%
Bad	3%	3%	3%	n	10%
Very bad	n	n	—	n	1%
No answer/don't know/ neither good nor bad	43%	43%	43%	50%	35%

No interviewed (= 100%)	Total 966	"Coloured" Sample			GLC 451
		North 155	Midlands 248	South 112	
Very good	9%	12%	10%	11%	7%
Good	58%	64%	70%	57%	50%
Bad	7%	3%	4%	9%	10%
Very Bad	1%	1%	1%	—	1%
No answer/don't know/ neither good nor bad	25%	20%	15%	23%	32%

The white sample generally rated their local facilities as better than did the "coloured" sample. The main differences reflect the problems already indicated by the "coloured" sample—shortage of open space, high cost of housing, over-crowding and general living standards, all problems related to living in high density urban areas. West Indians were more critical of most facilities than Asians, being particularly critical on housing, police and recreational matters.

In general, then, both samples thought that race relations were not a very important issue in their areas,—far less important than housing, traffic and vandalism. The "coloured" sample certainly appeared to be less satisfied with local services, but the differences were of degree, not of kind. There were important differences between young and older people amongst both samples. Young white people saw race relations in a more optimistic light than their elders while young "coloured" people thought racial prejudice was more of a problem than older "coloured" people.

3. Inter racial Contacts

We were interested to discover the ways in which the majority and minority communities come into contact with each other and the relative frequency of contacts at work, amongst neighbours through friends and so on. The "coloured" population, being so small a minority, naturally came into contact with other races on nationalities much more than the white population.

The white population come into contact with "coloured" people in five main situations, as nurses (42%) at work (33%) as friends (31%), on public transport (30%) and in shops (25%). However, this pattern of contact was very different for the boosted sample of young people aged 16-24 who meet "coloured" people as friends (48%), on public transport (48%), at school (44%), at work (43%) and in shops (36%). These contacts are probably increased because of the urban bias of the boosted sample of young people, but were substantially higher than the levels of contact for older people.

Other factors affecting contact with members of minority groups were: region,—most forms of contact were much more common in London than elsewhere; and social class,—with the "higher" social class claiming more contact in most ways.

The "coloured" sample naturally came into contact with other groups much more than the white sample, most commonly as neighbours (79%), in shops

(78%) as friends (70%), as colleagues at work (69%) or as employers/supervisors (68%). Age was a particularly important influence on the level of contact with other groups at school. 53% of those aged between 16-24 had contact with other groups at school compared with only 4% of those aged 45-64. West Indians generally had more contact with other groups than Asians.

Returning to the white sample, their most frequent contact with both Asians and West Indians was as nurses (42% and 56%) although for young people and in the Midlands there was more contact with Asians in shops (75%) and with West Indians on public transport. (85%).

Thus hospitals and public transport are still the most likely places where white people will come into contact with "coloured" people, although the schools, where young white people are much more likely to have met "coloured" people than their elders, and friendships of young people will clearly alter this pattern as time goes on. The media ought to bear this in mind in the picture they give of British society. The opportunities for white people to have these contacts are dependent on the composition of the area in which they live. 30% of the white sample said they lived within 5 minutes walk from an Asian family and 20% said they lived within 5 minutes walk of a West Indian family. 37% said they lived within 5 minutes walk of an Irish family. The concentration of "coloured" people in the London area meant that much higher proportions had families from minority groups within 5 minutes walk—Asians 61%, West Indians 52% and 51% Irish families.

Respondents were asked to describe their area from a set of phrases ranging from "all white" to "all coloured" 52% of the white sample said they lived in an "all white area" and 41% said "mainly white", 6% said "half white and half coloured". This pattern of replies was followed in the North and the Midlands, but in the south 69% said "all white" and 30% said "mainly white", while at the other extreme in London only 12% said "all white" but 67% said "mainly white" and 17% "half white and half coloured".

The areas the "coloured" people lived in were very different. Half of the "coloured" sample described their areas as "half white and half coloured" and 15% said "mainly coloured". In contrast one third of the sample said their area was "mainly white" and 2% said it was "all white" (presumably apart from themselves). The regional differences were less marked than for the white sample although in the north and Midlands areas were more likely to be described as "mainly coloured" than in the south and London. There was not much difference between the Asians' and the West Indians' descriptions of their areas.

A similar question was asked concerning the place of work of all those in the samples who were employed. A very similar pattern of replies emerged. Over half of the employed in the national sample claimed to have no contact with "coloured" people at their place of work which they describe as "all white". A further third described it as "mainly white". In contrast only 4% of

Table 9 Description of Locality

	<i>National White Sample</i> 1050	<i>"Coloured" Sample</i> 966
Total interviewed (100%)		
All white	52%	2%
Mainly white	41%	32%
Half white & Half coloured	6%	50%
Mainly coloured	2%	15%
All coloured	n	n

Table 10 Description of People at Work-place

	<i>National White Sample</i>	<i>"Coloured" Sample</i>
All in employment (= 100%)	642	629
All white	55%	3%
Mainly white	34%	35%
Half white & Half coloured	8%	45%
Mainly coloured	2%	12%
All coloured	—	4%

the employees in the "coloured" sample claimed to work in "all coloured" environment.

To see what use was made of these opportunities, those working in any situation not described as "all white" or "all coloured" were asked about the extent to which they mixed with workers from other ethnic groups at work and after work. At work, 93% of the "coloured" workers claimed to mix at tea breaks, lunch times etc, compared with only half of the white employed. Generally it appeared that the "coloured" respondents mixed to a greater degree both at work and after work.

As the description of the locality varied from one region to another so did the description of the workplace. 71% of the white employed in the South described their workplace as "all white" compared with 24% in London where 59% said "mainly white". There was much less regional variation in the "coloured" sample.

It is clear from these results that the concentration of "coloured" people into certain areas of the largest towns and cities has meant that most white people have not had the channels to form informal relationships with "coloured" people. Instead contacts have mainly been through the public services of transport and hospitals. It seems probable that this pattern will not be broken down until the younger generation has gone through school together.

4. Cultural Differences

In the preliminary exploratory research, a great deal of white people's comments on "coloured" people concerned cultural and "life-style" differences. Two of the most important were appearance and language. The obvious differences in dress were concentrated on.

"The Asian women wear long dresses and a red spot on their foreheads"

"Indians are the ones that wear the baggy knickers and turbans on their heads."

However it was recognised that not all "coloured" people wore national dress, some adopted western dress.

"Some coloureds dress nicely: work in an office and dress with a tie."

To assess the prevalence of this kind of attitude, we asked both white and "coloured" respondents to agree or disagree with the statement "Those coloured people who wear western dress are more easily accepted by whites". Half (51%) of the white sample agreed with this statement, while 30% disagreed, although it was noteworthy that disagreement was stronger amongst 16-to-24-year-olds (39%). Perhaps more surprising was the very similar pattern of response to the statement from the "coloured" sample. 49% agreed and 22% disagreed, with the youngest group disagreeing more strongly. However, the strongest agreement came from the West Indians (57%). It seems likely that differences of dress reinforce other differences, and perhaps strengthen the barriers between groups.

Another important difference that came out of the exploratory interviews concerned language. Inability to communicate easily was felt to be one of the major difficulties affecting relationships between white and "coloured" people. White people thought Asians were less willing to speak or learn English than the West Indians, especially the women.

"I think I get on better with West Indians. You seem to get more of them speaking proper English rather than gabbling away on their own like the Pakistanis do, and this is something that always annoys me".

"It is very difficult sometimes when you get people coming in who've met you before and because of their lack of English they're carrying on a conversation and you cannot really know what they are talking about. It's very difficult to try and give intelligent answers to statements when you don't really know what had been said. I find this true of the older Eastern Europeans and of the older Indians and Pakistanis."

Even when English was spoken, an accent could hinder full understanding.

"Pakistanis talk so fast, I can't understand them".

"Coloured" people who were interviewed also recognised that language was a problem. For some respondents this was because the English spoken/learned in Asia or the West Indies is not English as spoken in England, even though it might be grammatically correct.

"When I came I wondered what the hell they were speaking. I thought this isn't English." (West Indian).

"I found it difficult to understand the pronunciation because it is difficult if you go to London, Scotland, Wales, you know." (Asian).

"I have a problem with the language. I speak English, but they can't understand me. The English person he can't follow it. I can speak English grammatically right and these persons don't think about the grammars so they use the slang words." (Asian).

There was a strong agreement from both white and "coloured" samples that "language is the biggest barrier between races". 66% of the white sample and 73% of the "coloured" sample agreed. A hopeful sign was that there was least agreement with the statement amongst the boosted sample of young white people (57%). West Indians were less in agreement (65%) than the Asians (77%).

On a more general level, the two samples were asked "Generally, do you think people coming to live in this country should adopt the customs existing here, or should they continue to live with their own customs and way of life?" The white sample wanted newcomers to adapt. 62% said adopt English customs and 21% said "some modification". Only 14% said "keep their own customs". The "coloured" sample's opinions were not so very different. Only 20% said "keep their own customs", while 37% said "some modification" and 39% said "adopt English customs". However, a higher percentage of the "coloured" 16-24 year olds (28%) said "keep their own customs". West Indians were considerably more in favour of adopting English customs (55%) than Asians (29%).

This raises the question of integration as opposed to segregation. Another question put the issue more squarely. "Overall do you think it better if people of different races all live together in the same area, or if people of each race live in their own separate areas?" The vast majority of the "coloured" sample said they wished to integrate rather than segregate compared with just over half the white sample. Although a third of the white sample said living apart was preferable to living together, it should be remembered that half of the sample had no experience of living in mixed areas and may have ungrounded apprehensions about it. It was noticeable that young white people were more in favour of living together. (75%) than their elders. There was not much difference between Asians and West Indians on this issue. The media could well make an effort to reduce ungrounded apprehensions.

5. Prejudice and Discrimination

We have already seen that cultural factors such as dress and language have the effect of emphasising the differences between racial groups and making difficulties in their coming together. Another possibility we investigated was whether prejudice might spring from a more general xenophobia. We invited both white and "coloured" samples to agree or disagree with the statement "White people are frightened of anything foreign". Both samples disagreed

on balance, but a quarter of both samples did agree with this rather strongly expressed statement and it is impossible to dismiss completely the notion that some racial prejudice is part of a much more generalised fear of strangers.

This is supported by the widespread feeling that "Coloured people are just as prejudiced against whites as whites are against coloureds". 67% of the white sample agreed with this statement, and 46% of the coloured sample, of whom 30% disagreed. The West Indians were particularly in agreement with this idea, 60% agreeing and 20% disagreeing.

The exploratory research, group discussions and extended interviews with individuals, encouraged both white and "coloured" people to talk about prejudice and discrimination. Answers varied as could be expected. Many white people felt there was some sort of "problem" although its exact nature was difficult to grasp.

"If we could define what is causing the problem we'd be half way to solving it, but I can't see what the problem is". "Discrimination does exist . . . and it's discrimination against all immigrants, regardless of colour. It's just that people don't like them because they're foreigners, I suppose". Some people produced thin rationalisations for prejudice.

"It ain't that we're prejudiced against 'em; it's more that they are a nuisance. You've got to separate the two things, haven't you?"

"My mum wouldn't want me to go out with a coloured person, and marry them, but the only reason she wouldn't like it would be because the child that I had would suffer more than a white child".

There were also some crude expressions of prejudice. "I feel superior to a black or an Asian. There's at least six of us here that feel that, isn't there?"

"If I found out there was coloureds at his school I'd move him . . . and if he came home with one I wouldn't let him come in."

"If a white man turned black he really would be sick."

"I wouldn't go into a pub with black people in it".

"I wouldn't let coloured children come back here . . . They're like a foreign body. They just don't belong here."

"I can't stand them . . . and my dad hates them."

"It's like a pedigree dog. English is a pedigree. French is a pedigree. German is a pedigree. You get an Englishman marrying a coloured he's lost his pedigree, like you get an alsatian put to stud with an dalmatian, you ain't got a pure bred any more. It's gone, hasn't it?"

Many tried to find reasons for the prejudice and place blame, where possible. Some blamed "coloured" people themselves.

"The biggest problem is the chip on their shoulder they have, that makes them feel inferior . . . They spend too much time trying to prove that they're not."

"I think the trouble is the prejudice lies more on their part than our sticking together. I don't think it's our fault . . . It's their own choice that they have come together and therefore given bad names to areas of Bradford."

"They could reduce discrimination if they didn't hide behind the language barrier when it suits them".

A similar diversity of comments was made by the "coloured" people interviewed in the exploratory research. Comments often included a perceived general antipathy.

"They talk with you, laugh with you, but behind the back they're against you".

"A minority are friendly; when you say the majority, you don't know what they are thinking underneath. They are cursing you around the back". (West Indian).

"English people? Snotty. Far from being friendly". (West Indian).

"They are making good fun of our food . . . our clothes. If we wear our national dresses, these persons laugh at them". (Asian).

"We Asians are religious people . . . We are not having the liberty to express ourselves openly . . . If we can do it, again these persons make good fun of us". (Asian).

A few examples of overt discrimination were recounted, including "In car insurance . . . I rang again two hours later and changed my accent to cockney—the same car, but the price was lower" (West Indian).

"In the hospital, oh my God, all the colour bars they have there. I was working in C.S.S.D., by my I.Q. was higher than all the other girls, and any special packs of things we had to do . . . they had to call me. The English girls didn't like to work under me. They were jealous—pick up every small thing to annoy me. I really got fed up. I sent my resignation. I was called into personnel . . . They put me into pharmacy". (Asian).

" . . . The garages owned by the coloured people they set alight. They knew just which ones. The whites' garages they never touched". (West Indian).

"The overwhelming population of white people want to keep you just where they want you". (West Indian).

To gain a general impression of where discrimination was perceived, the two national samples of white and "coloured" people were asked to assess the relative levels of jobs, education and housing between white and coloured people. They were also asked "Do you think people of different nationalities

are treated the same or different by..." and were given a list of groups of people who might discriminate. Finally, towards the end of the questionnaire, respondents were asked: "Generally, it appears that coloured people on the whole have worse jobs, a lower standard of education and poorer housing than white people. Do you think that this is mainly due to discrimination against "coloured" people, or mainly due to other factors?" The most striking factor about the replies to these questions was the similarity between the replies from the two samples. There was general agreement that "coloured" people have poorer jobs, housing and education than white people, although education was seen more as an area of equal treatment than employment or housing.

Table 12 Relative Levels of Jobs, Education and Housing

	<i>National White Sample</i> 1050	<i>"Coloured" Sample</i> 966
Total interviewed (= 100%)		
Coloured people have better jobs	6%	3%
The same	39%	45%
Poorer	45%	43%
Better Education	3%	4%
The same	56%	62%
Poorer	31%	22%
Better Housing	6%	3%
The same	36%	56%
Poorer	48%	32%

The pattern of response was consistent across the country except that in London white people thought "coloured" people slightly better housed than elsewhere and "coloured" people thought they were rather worse housed. The reasons given for the deprivation of "coloured" people were also fairly similar between the two samples. Nearly a third of each sample said it was mainly due to discrimination, but around 4 out of 10 of each sample thought it was due to a combination of discrimination and other factors.

Table 13 Perceived Cause of "Coloured" Deprivation

	<i>National White Sample</i> 1050	<i>"Coloured" Sample</i> 966
Total interviewed (= 100%)		
Mainly due to discrimination	30%	31%
Mainly due to other factors	46%	37%
Both	10%	9%
Don't know	14%	22%
Other factors—(unprompted replies)		
Language problems	9%	7%
Lack of education	9%	11%
Overcrowded houses/bigger families	9%	1%
More willing to accept lower standards	8%	3%
Don't/Won't try to mix/Learn our ways	6%	2%
Unskilled/take jobs whites don't want	5%	4%
Lack of money	4%	5%

None of the other factors was mentioned by as many people as picked out discrimination as important. "Language problems" was given as a reason by 10% of Asians compared with 2% of West Indians.

Turning to the groups of institutions which were the subject of the direct question about discrimination (Table 14), the group most often thought by the white sample to treat different nationalities differently was publicans, whom as many as a quarter of the white sample thought discriminated. Around a fifth of the white sample thought employment and social security offices and housing departments treated people differently.

Table 14 Institutions Giving Different Racial Treatment

Total interviewed (= 100%)	National White Sample 1050	"Coloured" Sample 966
Publicans	25%	13%
favouring white people	24%	12%
"coloured" people	1%	n
Local Housing Department	20%	14%
favouring white people	12%	13%
"coloured" people	7%	n
Social Security	19%	6%
favouring white people	3%	6%
"coloured" people	15%	n
Employment Exchange	18%	16%
favouring white people	11%	15%
"coloured" people	5%	n
Police	13%	16%
favouring white people	10%	15%
"coloured" people	2%	1%
The Health Service	10%	7%
favouring white people	3%	5%
"coloured" people	7%	n

The "coloured" sample saw all the differences in behaviour to be favourable to white people, but the white sample felt that both the social security system and the health service to favour "coloured" people.

Fewer of the "coloured" sample thought most of the groups treated people differently. The exception was the police, who were thought to discriminate by 30% of West Indians. In both white and "coloured" samples the younger age group thought there was more discrimination than other people.

This confirmed the suggestion of the exploratory research that West Indians saw themselves being unfairly treated by the police. Several examples were given:

"I walked a young lady to the station. I was walking home. Two police jumped out! Where are you going? Where do you live? Some crime committed by a 'black' man with crinkly hair and a beard."

"They wanted me to go to the police station. This is blatant racism."

One West Indian had been stopped by the police in his car.

'You were driving very slow.' 'It is no crime to drive slow.' He started to search my car. I didn't look suspicious. Things like this. It is disgusting."

"A big fight started. The police came. I was just walking and I got taken down to the station. They said we had drugs. A couple of guys got taken away. When they came back ... 'Oh they fell down the stairs.'"

"The police do push the black children around for no reason. I've seen it with my own eyes."

"One of the neighbours phoned the police. He called over 'If I find any of you over there. I'm going to hit every one of you.' So we cleared off."

6. Employment

We have already seen the employment situation of the two samples (Table 4) Approximately, the same proportion of the two samples were in some form of employment (61% whites sample: 65% coloured sample), although a higher proportion of the white sample (13%) were working part time than the "coloured" sample (8%). There was a higher proportion of retired people, women and housewives, in the white sample and more students and unemployed in the "coloured" sample.

Further differences emerged between the youngest groups of the two samples.

Table 15 Employment of Young People (16-24)

Total aged 16-24 (= 100%)	National White Sample 285	"Coloured" Sample 206
Employed—full-time	66%	43%
—part-time	6%	5%
Full-time housewife	5%	17%
—student	16%	25%
Unemployed	7%	10%

Almost 3 out of 4 young white people are in some sort of employment, compared with half of the "coloured" young people. If the unemployment rate is based on those available for employment (ie 7% unemployment out of 79% for the white sample and 10% out of 58% for the coloured sample), the unemployment rate of young coloured sample (17%) is twice that of the young white sample (7%), which is the ratio that has been found elsewhere.

Respondents' past employment history showed a greater proportion of the "coloured" sample having been unemployed for a month than the white sample. This might well be connected with the "coloured" sample's immigration which might require a period of settling in. West Indians were more likely to have been unemployed (39%) than Asians (27%). (Table 16).

Table 16 Past Unemployment (for a month or more)

	National Total	White Sample Aged 16-24	"Coloured" Sample Total	"Coloured" Sample Aged 16-24
No interviewed (= 100%)	1050	285	966	206
Have been unemployed	23%	20%	31%	25%
Have not been unemployed	75%	78%	63%	64%

In the exploratory interviews white people were asked to describe the sort of work they thought "coloured" people do. Replies mainly mentioned manual work on public transport, in factories, mills, hospitals, coal-mines etc.

"A lot of them, about twenty-five per cent I'd say, work at the pit. The others are on the railway, or do factory work."

"Buses and hospitals—we wouldn't have any such services if it weren't for the immigrants."

In the quantified stage of the research 53% of the white sample agreed that "Coloured people tend to work in places that pay low wages" and 32% disagreed; and 51% agreed that "White people do the jobs that they like, but coloured people have to take what is offered", while 36% disagreed. The balance of opinion is in favour of the racial stereotype, but one third of the sample rejected it.

There were a few instances, reported in the exploratory research, of "coloured" people being in supervisory or management jobs. Opinions were divided whether white people objected to this.

"There are several Asian supervisors at B , Bradford, but I don't think the whites are resentful. I think the majority of them look on it that if a man is a supervisor he's done their job before them."

"I don't think my father would object to working under a coloured manager or foreman . . . well, he might in principle, but in actual real life I don't think it would cause any problem."

"They wouldn't work for a black foreman—they'd start moaning . . . As it is all the whites stick together in bundles, and all the coloureds in bundles. It makes me mad."

"They (the whites) wouldn't like working under them. But if he's capable of doing the job he ought to be able to."

The balance of opinion amongst the national white sample was that most people would object. 47% disagreed and 37% agreed that "Most people would not object to working under a coloured person". Again, it is notable that

over a third of the sample took the more optimistic point of view. Indeed amongst the youngest age group the balance of opinion was reversed with 46% agreeing and 42% disagreeing. Most disagreement occurred in the London area 54%. The exploratory research suggested that some of this feeling arose from a fear that "coloured" people were "taking jobs or affecting whites' future opportunities for advancement."

"There is a fear that they 'take jobs away from white people' among the more deprived white children. I don't know whether they're mirroring the views of their parents in this. They express this in foreful terms to their coloured bretheren... I've had to separate them when they've had the ensuing punch-up. There is a distinct feeling there, both housing and work, but it is from the ones on the very lowest jobs."

But opinion in the quantified white sample was again divided. 46% agreed and 40% disagreed that "most white people fear that coloured people will take over their jobs", but the suggestion in the last quotation was borne out to the extent that the replies were quite strongly related to social class. The managerial and professional group tended to disagree with the statement (36% agree; 50% disagree), while the unskilled manual group tended to agree. (53% agree; 26% disagree).

The exploratory research suggested that there were three main factors responsible for the present employment situation of "coloured" people, discrimination, language and lack of education.

"Coloured people find it difficult to get jobs at places other than hospitals. A lot of offices are reluctant to employ coloured people because the white people in there tend to be older... but I don't see it makes any difference at all. If they're educated well enough, then why shouldn't they get the job?"

"In Labour Exchanges there's the problem that some employers are still reluctant to employ people. These are mainly offices, things that are looked on as higher standard than working in a mill. They feel the black people are not up to the same standard as the whites."

"(In theory) they stand just as good a chance as the whites for good jobs... It depends on the boss".

"They don't tend to get the management foreman's jobs. One block could be language difficulties with the other people they're working with... not having as full education as a white person: and another could be prejudice again."

"Obviously, if an Asian immigrant applies for a job and he can't speak English, he can't read and write English, there is no use sending him to a bank as a bank clerk or as a secretary. Until they actually possess a skill or have a reasonable command of the language, it's obvious they're going to have to remain in a manual job."

The quantified white sample tended to agree that discrimination was a factor, and accepted that language was a factor, but were divided about the lack of education. 51% agreed and 35% disagreed that "Coloured and white people have an equal chance of being employed". 45% agreed and 30% disagreed that "Employers are less likely to employ a person once they have seen he is coloured". 60% agreed and 28% disagreed that "It is the language that stands in the way of coloureds". 36% agreed and 39% disagreed that "Coloured people lack the education necessary to get a good job". Agreement with the statement about language was particularly strong amongst the unskilled manual social class group (75% : 13% disagreed), while the reaction to the statement about the lack of education was related to age, older people agreeing (41% vs 24%) and younger people disagreeing (28% vs 51%).

From "coloured" people's point of view the major problem discussed in the exploratory research was discrimination based in racism. We heard many examples of attempts to get a job which had been wounding experiences.

"I found a vacancy in the paper. I phoned them. 'Oh that vacancy is filled up now'. From the name, my name, they could find out (I am coloured), so I wrote an application.' After two days, I got a letter that I should go for an interview. They said "I think the place is taken". My husband worked at the same hospital and he talked to the supervisor. "Oh we've got a vacancy for a long time now." I went back and told them I knew the vacancy was still there for 5 weeks. 'Oh this, that.' They made excuses. Anyway I got the job."

"I attended six interviews a week. I went to four today, and four yesterday. I will hear from some of them, but I know the answer."

"Racism is worse than 15 years ago. It has become more technical. They create a technical society where all people have equal opportunity, but I have been unemployed since February. I have 14 years experience. I have been to 20 or 30 interviews since then and I can't get a job. 70% of this is due to racism."

"The annoying thing about racism... we can't prove it. Firms always get through. We can't get the job we are qualified for, but they give white people a job even if he hasn't qualifications."

"The A... Agency... they gave me a number. I phoned them.' Are you sure it was you that phoned up?' They said I did not get the job because I had no experience, but it was colour."

"The man from the Employment Exchange rang the employer. He said 'Yes, I want a full time lady'. He said 'Are you going to work full time?' I said, 'Yes'. Then I got the card, went up to the factory. That white man said it was a mistake. 'There is no job for you'."

However, not everyone reported such bad experiences:

"I am treated better. Maybe I have proved I am the better worker. I am always treated as I think I should be."

Nevertheless 45% of the quantified coloured sample agreed that "Employers are less likely to employ a person once they have seen he/she is coloured", and 33% disagreed.

"I was given a very minor job... Labouring. I had no other choice."

"I went to the youth employment agency. I wanted a job in engineering, making motor car components... I started working glazing, but I left. I'm still disappointed."

"If you have qualifications as a nurse or a doctor, they will accept you; if it is something else, they will not accept it, as they are not in need of it." Even in work, equal treatment was still not always received. "For the same job, Englishmen can get more money."

"I am getting the lowest rate in L... All the English people are getting the better wages. All the Asian persons are getting not the same level."

"You've got to prove yourself *better* than the whites at work."

In the quantified survey 54% of the "coloured" sample agreed that "White people do the jobs they like, but coloured people have to do what is offered"; 25% disagreed. 42% agreed that "Coloured people tend to work in places that pay low wages"; 37% disagreed. Agreement with this statement was strongest in the north (49%); disagreement was strongest in the midlands (44%).

There were several reasons mentioned for this situation, including whites' hostility and "coloured" people's poorer qualifications and language.

"If you show them you are lower than them, you are learning from them, oh yes, they will do anything. Once they come to know you know better than them, they don't like that."

"They daren't ask a coloured girl what to do. They won't ask you where the cash book is. They'll just look for it, but I could tell them."

45% of the sample agreed that "Most white people fear that coloured people will take over their jobs"; 34% disagreed. 42% agreed that "Coloured people lack the education necessary to get a good job"; 35% disagreed. 64% agreed that "It is the language that stands in the way of coloureds." 21% disagreed, although West Indians were less inclined to agree (48% vs 32%) than Asians (73% vs 15%).

"Coloured" people's position in employment had led them to seek the support of a trade union more than the white sample. 36% of the "coloured" sample

were trade union members compared with 25% of the white sample, but feelings about unions were mixed.

"You've got to have someone at the back of you: You must be in a union, especially if you are black."

"The union backed a group of workers who refused to work because a black man was transferred to their section. The management backed down, making it almost possible for the union to run the factory."

"Unions? No, because it's a piece work and this varies with machines and the machines with better work are mostly English."

Finally, in the quantified survey each sample was asked how difficult it would be to get another job. Their answers were:

Table 17 Ease of Getting Another Job

	<i>National White Sample</i>		<i>"Coloured" Sample</i>	
	<i>Total</i>	<i>16-24</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>16-24</i>
Total interviewed (= 100%)	1050	285	966	206
Very difficult	21%	8%	16%	12%
Difficult	24%	21%	21%	22%
Easy	32%	42%	30%	27%
Very Easy	10%	11%	7%	8%

The expectation of the two samples were similar overall, with about equal proportions thinking it would be "easy" or "difficult". However, among those aged between 16 and 24, the white sample was far more confident than the "coloured" sample, 53% of the young white sample think it would be "easy" or "very easy" to get a job compared with 33% of the "coloured" sample.

7. Education

Because the "coloured" sample contained fewer older people than the white sample, their involvement in the British educational system was different. 65% of the white sample had completed their education by the age of 15 compared with 41% of the coloured sample. However 65% of the "coloured" sample had completed their education before coming to England and only 3% of the sample had had more than 10 years education here.

The age structure of the "coloured" sample is also reflected in the proportion currently possessing children of school age which is almost double that of the white sample.

West Indians were more likely to have school age children than Asians. Levels of involvement in their children's schools were very similar between the parents in the white and "coloured" samples, though there were some indications that the West Indians were more actively involved than the Asians.

Table 18 Possession of School Children

	<i>National White Sample</i>	<i>"Coloured" Sample</i>		
		Total	West Indian	Asian
Number interviewed (= 100%)	1050	966	324	584
Have school children	29%	52%	60%	48%

The majority of parents (over 80% of them) had met their children's teachers although the opportunity to do so formally was greater amongst the white sample who were more aware of the existence of a Parent Teacher Association at their child's school (73% as against 66% of the coloured sample). However a higher proportion of the coloured sample who belonged to a PTA attended meetings—two thirds compared with just over half of the white sample. The two samples were equally diligent at examining their children's homework, two thirds of each claiming to do so regularly.

Two thirds of the children had the opportunity of taking part in extra-curricular activities arranged by the school, such as sport, music etc, if they wished to, this opportunity being particularly high in the GLC area. Sport was by far the most popular activity, followed by music and theatre-going. Membership of organisations such as Scouts or Guides was low amongst both samples but twice as many white youngsters were reported as belonging to a youth club (18%) as coloured youngsters (9%).

Amongst the white sample interviewed in the exploratory research the main worry was that "coloured" children's language difficulties would lower standards generally.

'When the coloured immigrants come to Bradford, I don't think they're adequately catered for. They're pushed into a remedial class at school where they shouldn't be and where there's English children and yet the coloured children are trying to learn English and the English children are not really there for that purpose. I think it's holding the white children up in that class.' 'The coloureds have brought down the standard of education. There is no doubt about it. The teachers have got to spend so much time with the immigrants. Basically you are just teaching them English.'

'You have people coming in who don't know the language, and this must lower the educational standard for the others... apart from the problem of overcrowding.'

'A lot of Asians have trouble with language difficulties, even those born over here. When I was in the sixth form there were about a dozen of them studying things like Maths, Chemistry and Physics—things that didn't involve languages. I think it's a terrible barrier they have to get over when they first start school. The West Indians tended to have more ease with the language and they were more average.'

However, some were able to overcome the barrier.

'One Asian girl in my class is very good in Maths, much better than anyone else.'

"It's a threat to the younger generation... Some of the Asian children are very clever."

The "coloured" interviewees saw a larger number of problems of which the most serious were varieties of prejudice which had very deep roots.

"Racism is bred right from the nursery school. There are poems and stories about black boys, white boys. The black and white kids are grown with these feelings. When they grow, they are bitter."

"There is a school near me. I don't know if it is Church of England or what, but you can't get admission there. I never see any coloured students at that school."

"There is one at Sparkhill Park, but if you take your child there you won't get admission if you are coloured."

A number of incidents revealing teachers' prejudices were related.

"My girl gets headaches and her eyes hurt. One day the teachers said 'What can I do about your eyes? Go and see a doctor'. But an English girl said her eyes were hurting and every day the teacher asks her 'How are your eyes today?' A teachers should not do that."

"One teacher used to hand over 4 rulers and 4 pencils... only to the white students. So much so that it became obvious that she was really favouring them."

"In schools the relations between the teachers and the English students and the Asian students is absolutely different."

"The younger teachers are all right. It is the older ones. They can't accept black kids."

"After reaching a certain level black kids are discouraged. The teachers' attitude discourages them. Lack of interest, of encouragement."

To gauge people's views on education more accurately, respondents in the quantified research were asked what they thought were the main problems facing schools in their area. Their main replies were:

Table 19 Problems in Schools

	<i>National White Sample</i>	<i>"Coloured" Sample</i>
Total interviewed (= 100%)	1050	966
Overcrowding	34%	25%
Staff shortages	17%	17%
Lack of discipline	15%	11%
Comprehensive system	7%	1%
Poor buildings	6%	6%
Raising of school leaving age	6%	1%
Shortage of funds	6%	2%
Number of immigrants	3%	3%
No problems	15%	30%

It is clear that the ethnic composition of classes was a very minor issue for both samples. Similarly a clear majority of both samples thought that the schools were meeting children's needs (whites 59% and "coloureds" 65%). There was agreement from both samples that "Language problems hold coloured children back" (whites 66% and "coloureds" 60%), but both samples also tended to agree that "Coloured children have not brought down the standards of education" (whites 53% agreed, 24% disagreed; "coloureds" 50% agreed, 14% disagreed). However more white people (44%) agreed that "Teachers have to spend more time with coloured children" than disagreed (22%), whereas slightly more "coloured" people disagreed (33%) than agreed (31%).

Views about the children themselves were optimistic. Both samples strongly agreed that "Children are not prejudiced" (whites 72%, "coloureds" 76%) and that "Some coloured children are cleverer than white children" (whites 65% and "coloureds" 63%). The "coloured" sample agreed (51% vs 8% disagreed) more strongly than the white sample (42% vs 7%) that "Coloured children are well behaved" but the opinions of the two samples diverged strongly on parental involvement with their children. The "coloured" people agreed strongly (67% vs 11% disagreed) that "Coloured parents are very strict" compared with 32% of the white sample who agreed and 11% who disagreed. Similarly the "coloured" sample agreed (41% vs 15% disagreed), that "Coloured parents take more interest in their children's education than white parents" but the white sample disagreed (33% vs 18% agreed).

8. Immigration

There was widespread ignorance of the level of immigration into Britain.

Table 20 Estimated Level of Immigration 1974

	All Immigrants		"Coloured" Immigrants	
	National White Sample	"Coloured" Sample	White Sample	"Coloured" Sample
Total interviewed (= 100%)	1050	966	1050	966
Up to 499	—	1%	1%	51%
Up to 2,000	1%	5%	2%	7%
Up to 5,000	3%	6%	6%	7%
Up to 10,000	6%	5%	8%	5%
Up to 50,000	14%	7%	16%	6%
Up to 100,000	10%	3%	9%	1%
Over 100,000	8%	3%	4%	n
Don't know	57%	69%	54%	66%

n indicates less than 0.5%

Respondents were asked 'Roughly, how many people in total, came to live in Britain last year?' and the question was repeated for "coloured" immigrants. The actual number of people admitted for settlement in 1974 was 29,712 of whom 25,506 came from the New Commonwealth or Pakistan (Immigration Statistics 1974, Command 6064, HMSO). It is clear that most people did not have any accurate idea of the levels of immigration. Doubtless it would be unrealistic to expect people to have much knowledge of immigration statistics, but it does reveal how easy it would be to get people to believe the exaggerated claims of anyone who wanted to cause trouble.

9. Race Relations Agencies

Respondents were asked for their awareness of race relations agencies, both spontaneously and prompted. Spontaneous awareness was low, with the Race Relations Board being mentioned most often, although there was confusion with the Community Relations Commission and community relations councils.

Table 21 Awareness of Race Relations Agencies

	<i>Spontaneous</i>		<i>Prompted</i>	
	<i>National White Sample</i>	<i>"Coloured" Sample</i>	<i>White Sample</i>	<i>"Coloured" Sample</i>
Total Interviewed (100%)	1050	966	1050	966
Race Relations Board	24%	21%	75%	63%
Community Relations Commission/Councils	2%	8%	19%	31%
Police Liaison Officers	1%	1%	19%	14%

The Race Relations Board was the best known of the institutions. Surprisingly perhaps, it was better known amongst the white than the "coloured" sample. The CRC and crc's, however, were better known amongst the coloured sample. Respondents were also asked whether they thought the race relations agencies were mainly for white people or mainly for "coloured" people.

Table 22 Purpose of Race Relations Agencies

	<i>National White Sample</i>	<i>"Coloured" Sample</i>
Total interviewed (= 100%)	1050	966
Mainly for white people	2%	2%
Mainly for "coloured" people	41%	14%
For both equally	49%	74%

The commonest reply in both samples was that the agencies were for white and "coloured" people equally, although 2 out of 5 white people thought they were mainly for "coloured" people. This confusion was apparent in the exploratory interviews.

"The Race Relations Board are only for the coloured people; but what happens in an area like this if a white is antagonised by a coloured person? There's nowhere for him to go."

"I think it makes things worse. You can't call a spade a spade, can you? Let's be honest, Race Relations, it's just for coloureds. If they called you 'whitey', you'd look bloody silly walking up to the Race Relations officer and saying 'He just called me 'whitey'.'"

"A lot of people don't realise but if you're discriminated against by a coloured employer, you have every right to appeal to the Race Relations Board. A lot of people think it's entirely for the immigrants, but it isn't, it works both ways"

"It's for any race. If an Irishman accosts you in the street you can go to them."

"I suppose you've got to have them. If I was an Indian and was getting all the bum jobs, I'd go to the Race Relations Board. You've got to acknowledge there is prejudice, haven't you? You've got to have something."

"If they try to keep the blacks happy, then they're doing a lot of good for the white people as well, because a lot of white people want to see everybody integrated rather than one rule for black and one rule for white."

"Coloured" people's opinions were more sceptical:

"Who are they? What can they do? They may be full of sympathy with you ... They say we know you are treated unfairly, but you know we can't do it."

"A waste of time. To solve a racial problem, you have to do it yourself. It took 8 or 9 months before it was finalised. The best system of solving racial problems is on the spot. Do whatever you want to do with the man. The Race Relations Board is a lot of rubbish."

"My foreman insulted me. He called me a 'black bastard'. I told him (the management) and he did nothing. I threatened him with the Race Relations Board ... He sacked the foreman, and I still work there."

10. Race Relations and the Future

White respondents' opinions about race relations were sharply divergent in separating immigration and race relations. In broad terms, feelings were hostile towards further immigration, but although some people feared the worst, most accepted that action could and should be taken to improve race relations and there was optimism for the longer term, especially amongst young people.

There was a passive acceptance of "coloured" people rather than positive welcome, but things were changing slowly.

"I think people are getting used to the fact that coloureds are here and they are beginning to be treated like everyone else."

"Things have definitely changed. My age group has grown up with them, and you're forced to change your attitudes. I'm happier about it now. There were a lot of gang fights at one time, but I never hear of them now."

"Attitudes have definitely changed in the last ten years. They are accepted now. When I was a kid, my mother wouldn't let me go to school where there was a coloured child."

"I think they've become far more accepted now. They're a far more common sight in Bradford than they were ten years ago."

When the quantified sample was asked whether "feeling between coloured and white people is getting better, getting worse or remaining the same in their own locality," their replies were:

	<i>National White Sample</i>
Total interviewed (= 100%)	1050
Getting better	15%
Remaining the same	27%
Getting worse	3%
Not applicable/no coloured people	49%

The same question relating to the country as a whole received the following answers:

Getting better	32%
Remaining the same	37%
Getting worse	20%

The second of these two questions has been asked in public opinion surveys several times since 1959. The findings have varied widely. A particularly pessimistic answer appeared after Mr. Powell's famous speech in 1968. The latest set of replies are the most optimistic that have been given.

"Is feeling between white and coloured people getting better or worse?"

<i>Date</i>	<i>"Better"</i>	<i>"Worse"</i>	<i>"Same"</i>	<i>"Don't Know"</i>
May 1959	16%	44%	31%	9%
Aug 1964	24%	26%	41%	9%
Nov 1965	14%	43%	31%	12%
Dec 1965	18%	39%	33%	10%
Aug 1967	13%	45%	33%	9%
July 1968	6%	55%	32%	7%
Sept 1972	17%	42%	32%	9%
July 1973	24%	33%	35%	8%
May 1974	30%	23%	42%	5%
Nov 1974	25%	29%	38%	7%
Feb 1975	32%	20%	37%	11%

On both national and local questions the more optimistic view that feelings were getting better was more common than the pessimistic view. And, despite their hostility to further immigration, there was a clear majority who thought living together was better than living apart. The actual question

asked respondents to choose between extreme alternatives: "Overall, do you think it better if people of different races all live together in the same area, or if people of each race live in their own separate areas?" The replies were:

	<i>National White Sample</i>
Total interviewed (= 100%)	1050
Better to live together	58%
Better to live apart	32%

"The immigrant community is here to stay and people recognise that they can't do anything about it, so they're coming round to the idea that they've got to mix. I can see that if they do get to know each other better, this will turn into a want."

"I don't think you can push the issue. I think people will accept that they have to live with coloureds and they are like us. It comes naturally." Great faith was placed in the next generation.

"It's the children that will straighten the racialists out in my opinion."

"You've got to learn to live with them. In five years' time, it won't be as bad as now. The kids now, in the future they'll integrate. We've already got this stigma from our parents. You see, the kids, they're not really bothered by it like us."

The minority who were pessimistic feared violence or a black "take-over".

"It will be violence everywhere . . . black and white fights."

"Race riots could happen if they were antagonised enough . . . The young ones have been brought up to fight. They've been treated differently in the schools".

"In England there are probably more half and quarter coloured than there are whites. They're trying to infiltrate the government now like in America. Soon over there, there'll be a black government telling the whites what to do."

"The immigrants already in the country are having families and they're growing up and having families. By the turn of the century, I can see us being two-thirds immigrant, counting the European immigrants . . . and by the middle of next century I can see the country virtually losing its national identity."

"There's nought you can do about it. Birmingham is going to be a black city, isn't it? There's nobody going to stop it. It won't matter if one or two or a dozen of us stop, most of us will just move out . . . It's easy for the whites to move away because anyone with the choice will live in a better area and the blacks will move in. We will always be able to move away because we earn better money than they do."

In the quantified survey, respondents were asked to suggest what could be done to improve things, and were also asked to react to a number of suggestions that had been made in the exploratory research.

Table 23A Ideas to Improve Race Relations

Total interviewed (= 100%)	National White Sample 1050
1. Spontaneous suggestions	
Clubs/social gatherings where all can meet	16%
Greater integration	15%
"Give and take"/understanding on both sides	12%
Learn to adopt English ways	7%
Stop immigration	7%
Better education	6%
Give everyone same living/working conditions	6%
Send immigrants back	4%
Nothing/there will always be problems	7%

These answers suggest a willingness to learn to live with the "coloured" population, almost a desire to get to know them. The negative solution of repatriation was put forward by only a very tiny minority. On the whole, these were encouraging suggestions.

Table 23B Ideas to Improve Race Relations

2. Reactions to suggested ideas	
% replying "good idea" or "very good idea"	
Centres to help adult immigrants with language problems	88%
Friendship between white and coloured children should be encouraged	84%
Community centres should be set up so people could mix	79%
T.V. programmes explaining ways of life in different countries	76%
Customs of immigrants should be explained to white people	73%
The law should be strengthened to prevent discrimination on the basis of colour	52%
Coloured people should be promoted to influential positions	38%

These answers again show a positive willingness to overcome misunderstandings and hostilities. Even the response to the suggestion of putting "coloured" people in influential positions must be considered a constructive reaction, since only 23% thought it was a bad idea.

Despite these positive answers, the white sample was evenly divided on whether "race relations will get better or worse over the next few years". 38% said "better", 38% said "worse" and 24% did not give an opinion. However, young people were much more optimistic (48% "better", 26% "worse"). "Coloured" respondents were much more optimistic than the whites, although some thought things were not improving.

"It was better then. English people were happier then... Everything has changed."

"It is worse now. If a white man cannot get accommodation, he will blame the immigrants."

"At that time there was more respect for Indians . . . Most of our people (now) are illiterate."

But on the whole feelings were thought to be improving both locally and nationally.

	<i>"Coloured Sample"</i>	
	<i>Locally</i>	<i>Nationally</i>
Total interviewed (= 100%) 966		
Getting better	45%	44%
Remaining the same	38%	31%
Getting worse	7%	13%

As to the future, there was again much faith placed in the younger generation, combined with an awareness of the danger of things going wrong.

"Our children are born in this country, educated in this country, grow up in this country. There will be a sufficient gap between our parents and the younger generation. They will not be from our culture. They (the whites) will accept them . . . Parents must understand this."

"The older generation of black people would take any job. The young people they're after what they want. That or nothing at all, and when it is nothing at all you bring trouble."

"When they (the parents) came, they were working class. They accepted it, but the children were born here and they realise they are not getting equal rights, and this is a danger to the whole community. It could well be like Northern Ireland."

"Coloured" respondents were also asked to suggest what could be done and to react to a number of suggestions.

Table 24 Ideas to Improve Race Relations

	<i>"Coloured" Sample</i> 966
Total interviewed (= 100%)	
1. Spontaneous suggestions	
Clubs/social gatherings where all can meet	23%
Greater integration	20%
"Give and take"/understanding on both sides	12%
Nothing/there will always be problems	6%
2. Reactions to suggestions	
% replying "good idea" or "very good idea"	
Centres to help adult immigrants with language problems	94%
Friendship between white and coloured children should be encouraged	95%
Community centres should be set up so people could mix	90%
TV programmes explaining ways of life in different countries	89%
Customs of immigrants should be explained to white people	81%
The law should be strengthened to prevent discrimination on the basis of colour	67%
Coloured people should be promoted to influential positions	74%

These answers show an even greater willingness to overcome barriers and mix with white people. This was also shown in the replies to the question about whether it was better to live together or live apart. The replies were:

Total interviewed (= 100%)
Better to live together
Better to live apart

"Coloured" Sample
966
86%
6%

An unequivocal reply was also given to the question about the future, when 52% thought race relations would get better, against 18% who thought they would get worse. 30% did not give an opinion.

Conclusions

This survey makes it clear that race relations, as reflected in what ordinary people think about the various issues involved, are still in the early stages of a process of transformation, but nevertheless, gives grounds for a modest amount of cautious optimism. This optimism is based on two factors: firstly, the balance of white opinion was in favour of steps being taken to promote good race relations, despite negative feelings about the related but separate issue of immigration; and secondly, because younger white people were markedly more tolerant and accepting of multi-racial Britain than their parents.

The difference of attitude between younger and older white people appears to arise through differences in contacts between two groups of white people and "coloured" people. Younger white people have had far more contact with "coloured" people in their formative early years at school and at work than older white people and the shared experience of schooling and work-seeking has undoubtedly allowed less superficial relationships to be formed. The young "coloured" people's experience of the British educational system may not always have been happy, but it has at least given them more in common with young white people than older "coloured" people have with older white people.

Older white and "coloured" people have the differences that inevitably arise from one group being newcomers and are constantly reinforced by differences of language, dress and unchangeable skin-colour. Each of these cultural and physical differences has reinforced the effects of the others and society has not provided the means of breaking into the vicious circle. It appears that the barriers are only likely to be broken down when people have experiences which prevent the barriers arising in the first place or have common experiences which counteract existing prejudice.

Undoubtedly the existing differences between people have also been reinforced by the dominant feeling that newcomers, of any kind, present a threat. The fact that the bulk of jobs, houses and other facilities available to newcomers is bound to be limited to the less attractive simply because of lack of experience, education and other qualifications, does not prevent the group of white people who would have been most likely to have taken advantage of those jobs and other facilities, from feeling threatened by the presence of the newcomers, even though there may in fact be no direct threat. This research has shown that the more prosperous social classes who might be expected to take a harsher line on most social issues, were in fact more relaxed about race relations than the less prosperous who saw the newcomers

as more direct competition. Studies by PEP have shown that the minorities do experience a high level of discrimination at the hands of the majority, and that they are at very marked disadvantages in both housing and employment.

Despite these differences of treatment and experience, the broad attitudes about their general conditions were remarkably similar between white and "coloured" people. The main differences appeared to concern such things as housing problems which might affect the "coloured" population more because they have had less time to cope with the difficulties which arise through their geographical concentration in less desirable areas of the major urban areas or through their younger age structure.

On the whole "coloured" people were more optimistic than white people. White people were divided on most questions, but on balance the majority was nearly always liberal and optimistic. There was an equal proportion of those whites thinking race relations would deteriorate and those thinking race relations would improve. In most ways the replies from white people were markedly more tolerant than might have been expected and it is possible that sustained questioning on race relations matters produces more tolerant replies either through making people think more deeply about the issues or through prompting them into giving the answers they think are expected of them. Even if these factors were operating, it still provides encouragement in that it implies that suitable campaigns to influence public opinion are likely to be received better than might have been expected.

However, the results do indicate that public opinion would support a number of measures to improve race relations, including a strengthening of the anti-discrimination legislation, a programme to ensure that everyone can speak English, TV programmes providing information about the minorities and ways of enabling the various groups to mix and get to know each other. Although there is bound to be a continuing hostile white minority, the balance of opinion is willing to see things done in response to a suitable lead from those in a position to take action.

Appendix I

The information contained in this report is drawn from interviews with two substantial samples of people. However, because sampling techniques have been used, it is possible that there is a degree of error associated with each piece of information. This degree of error is approximately the same for each sample (since the two samples are of roughly the same size), but varies according to the level of the percentage. Statistical techniques enable us to calculate the range within which the true answer is likely to lie so that for given percentages we can say within 95% confidence that the true answer lies within the following limit, above or below the recorded percentage.

<i>Recorded Percentages</i>	<i>95% Confidence Limits of true percentage</i>
	plus or minus 0.6%
1%	1.9%
10%	2.5%
20%	2.9%
30%	3.1%
40%	3.2%
50%	3.1%
60%	2.9%
70%	2.5%
80%	1.9%
90%	0.6%
99%	

For example, if 10% of the sample give an answer, we can say with 95% confidence that the true answer lies between 8.1% and 11.9%.

Appendix II

An incidental question asked people which newspaper they read, and how much television they watched.

	<i>National White Sample</i>		<i>"Coloured" Sample</i>	
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>West Indian</i>	<i>Asian</i>
Number estimated (= 100%)	1050	966	324	304
Read: Financial Times	2%	2%	2%	2%
Times	5%	7%	4%	9%
Telegraph	9%	15%	9%	18%
Guardian	5%	10%	6%	11%
Express	20%	7%	8%	5%
Mail	13%	6%	8%	5%
Mirror	33%	35%	59%	21%
Sun	26%	25%	37%	18%
Local paper	52%	20%	20%	20%
West Indian World	n*	6%	18%	1%
Asian newspapers	n*	20%	3%	32%
None	7%	17%	7%	22%
Watch T.V.:				
Up to 5 hours per week	6%	13%	14%	12%
6-10 hours per week	17%	19%	19%	18%
11-20 hours per week	34%	27%	23%	29%
21-30 hours per week	20%	20%	22%	19%
Over 30 hours per week	21%	16%	16%	16%
None	2%	5%	6%	5%

*n indicates less than 0.5%

The newspapers read show the importance of the minority communities' own papers. It is also notable that the minorities' pattern of readership is similar to the majority's except for the Daily Express and the Daily Mail.

The minorities report watching less television than the majority. This may be related to the differing age-structures.

Selected C.R.C. Publications

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF CHILDREN OF MINORITY GROUPS: Reference Series No. 1	30p
THE EMPLOYMENT OF NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING WORKERS: WHAT INDUSTRY MUST DO. Reference Series No. 2	30p
UNEMPLOYMENT & HOMELESSNESS: A Report Reference Series No. 3 (HMSO)	£1.00
ONE YEAR ON: A Report on the resettlement of the refugees from Uganda in Britain. Reference Series No. 4	75p
RESPONSE TO THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE. Reference Series No. 5	60p
FOSTERING BLACK CHILDREN: Reference Series No. 6	30p
REFUGE OR HOME?: A Policy Statement on the Resettlement of Refugees. Reference Series No. 7	75p
THE EMPLOYMENT OF BLACK PEOPLE IN A LONDON BOROUGH	25p
IN SERVICE EDUCATION OF TEACHERS IN MULTI-RACIAL AREAS—An Evaluation of Current Practice	60p
MUSLIM BURIALS—A Policy Paper (Reprint)	25p
WEDNESDAY'S CHILDREN: A Report on under-fives provision in Handsworth	35p
WHO MINDS? A Study of Working Mothers and Childminding in Ethnic Minority Communities	75p
PARTICIPATION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE GENERAL ELECTION, October 1974	45p
DON'T RUSH ME: The Comic-strip, Sex Education and a Multi-racial Society by Sarah Curtis	35p
A SECOND CHANCE: Further Education in Multi-Racial Areas	£1.35